and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

/171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather as "client, bondsman, tributary." 565 631

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted. [701] [727]

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appointment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is they who speak first and state whether they accept the new amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all. 565 631 643

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression (from the Arab word "el aâr" عار, not to avenge an insult or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 558 565 577 631

Chapter II

The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the insignia of command. 202 534 643 565

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n-Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more. 534 565

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule. 534 565 643

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had. [558]

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by meaning the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes," or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela." 534 565 631

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is," the early Arabs said, ما دري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1). [192]

1. Arab-French dictionary by A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism. [174 797]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*, or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all [601] brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or [606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized 634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the 614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble 565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is [687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the 634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the 614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other 565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel 114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Iḥaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from 634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power 614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the 565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by [558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

[669] A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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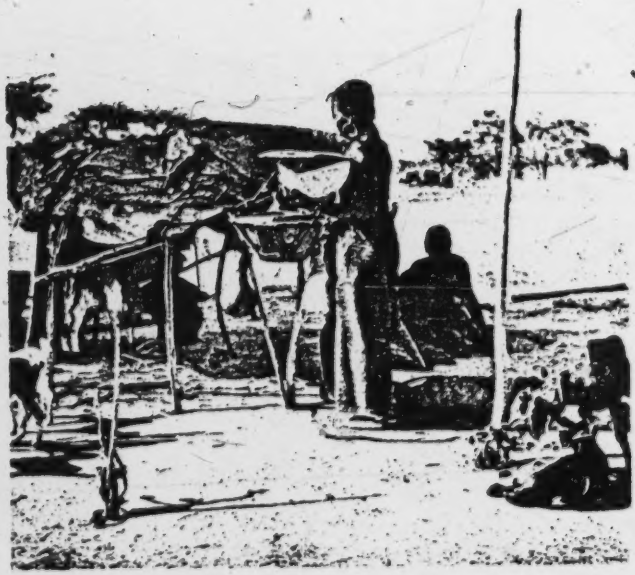

Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawetten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I 567
have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own.

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way thereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows:— When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, [558] and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him